

THE
DUTCH Way of Toleration
Most proper for our
ENGLISH DISSENTERS

Written at the Request of a Friend

W. Barrow, Chaplain to the Earl of Clarendon.

O! Imitatores servum pecus.

Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea Nodo?

Hor.

*As free, and not using your Liberty for a Cloak of Malice
and Envy, &c. St. Pet. Ep. 1. Ch. 2. V. 16,*

L O N D O N,

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THis returns my Thanks, for the Favour of your last, and candid Acknowledgment, that I had reason in affirming, "the Sword would continue to halt it on between St. Paul's and Pinner's-Hall, as long as this was Mayor; for now you were come over to my Opinion, and saw it would not only be so, but that his Successor, finding the See thus broken, would, probably, follow in the same Track, or otherwise improve the Affront to our old Establishments, according as the several Factions, which plac'd him in the Chair, should think fit to direct. Hereupon you desire me to communicate what I know in reference to the Dutch Toleration, (whereof you have heard several hints in our private Converse) and how it comes to pass, that the many differing Perswasions amongst them enjoy their Liberty with a continued Peace and Quiet, whereas ours are always restless and encroaching, every day grasping at more, and seem still dissatisfied unless they can engross all.

Indeed, Sir, it was to my no little surprize, when last in Town, to find your self, and some other Friends, so positive, that a Reprimand from the Court of Aldermen, and some by-Reflections in an Higher Court, would stifle their Design, or make them give it over, which I perceived was deeper laid, and had greater Encouragement, than any of you did then imagine; yet sure this you must have ob-

say'd, that 'tis very rare to find those *Parties* doing their business by halves; whatever *Rights* they may pretend to, there is an infallible Argument to prove them *Children of this World*, being so wise, that is, *clinging*, in their *Generations*. No People carry on their *Projects* with greater *Intrigue*, nor more nicely observe the several *steps* and *degrees* by which they must be accomplished: Their *Legal Indulgence*, as it was a great Point gain'd, so the timing of it was very *critical*; for, being in the heat of the *Revolution*, there might be several *Cases* *miss'd*, which upon farther Debate would have been better considered; particularly, I question very much, whether any *Dissenter* would have been allow'd going to the *Conventicle* during his *Magistracy*, especially to carry the *Insignia* thither; the former of which hath been all along practis'd in several *Corporations* throughout the Kingdom; and, doubtless, the *President* your *Lord Mayor* has set, will be *Ap'd* by several of his *Brethren* in other Places: (notwithstanding, as the *Act* runs at present, 'tis a *Moot Case* among the Gentlemen of the *Long Robe*, whether allowable thereby) But that your *Lord Mayor* may not have the sole *Honour* of the first Attempt, at least, that was done the First Year of their *Indulgence*; at a *Corporation* in my Neighbourhood, where an old *Zealot* of the *41 Cause* (brought in perhaps for that purpose) would needs have the *Mace* attend him to the *Barn*; but the honesty, or as they term'd it, obstinacy of the *Officers*, the *Serjeants*, would not comply, and so he went without it. Afterwards, indeed, when one of the same Stamp was in course to be chosen, the *Company* capitulated, that however the *Mayor* might take his liberty, the *Mace* should be confin'd to *Church*; which some thought a little hard on the *Mace's* side, since 'twas believ'd every whit as *tender-conscienc'd* as the Man who follow'd it.

But, to return to our purpose, you see how their Affairs stand at present, and how little they scruple stretching to the utmost any *Liberty* which is indulg'd them, whereof now they have a fair Prospect to make a greater enlargement; for you know next Winter a New *Parliament* will come in course; and they are so far from being ignorant thereof, or idle thereupon, as 'tis hard for a Person of your *undesigning Integrity*, to imagine how earnestly they already stickle to carry on their Point in that *Critical Juncture*, leave never a *Stone* unturn'd, are tampering with all *Interests*, and in all Places, to get confiding Members chosen, such *Root* and *Branch-men*, as shall effectually carry on the *Work of the Lord*, and once more establish the *Good Old Cause*; and then let the *State* look to it as well as the *Church*, for 'tis hard to resolve whether suffer'd most from such

such Morough Reformers. Now let me be Demonstration, that
 a *Religious Liberty*, a *Freedom* as to *the Conscience*, is not the sole,
 nor main thing they aim at; for then would they press no farther,
 that being confirm'd to them by *Legal Establishment*, to all Intents
 and Purposes imaginable: But to be dabbling in the *Government*,
 is as natural to them as *Water* to a *Fish*; and if they may not com-
 mand the *Royalty*, and controll at Pleasure, prescribe who are worthy
Men, and *Men* worthy, those Waters will be always troubled, ne-
 ver free from foul *Weather*, and *Storms*: Nay, farther to remark,
 how scandalously they prostitute their *Spiritual Liberty*, their *Right*
 of *Conscience*, to obtrude themselves upon the *Temporal Power*, their
 double dealing, playing fast and loose with our *Church* and *Sacrament*,
 is an irrefragable Argument. Formerly, the *Church of England* (to
 use their great *Patriarch's* *J. O's* Words) was a meer *Antichristian*
Enroachment upon the Inheritance of Christ, all her *Darling-Errors*,
Stones of the Old Babel; and therefore by no means to be communicated
 with: *The Faithful of the Lord must not touch such defiled Garments*;
 and this indeed was the common *Cant* of them all, for some score
 of Years together: Yet now we see to serve a *State-turn*, or rather
 overturn the *State*, the *Holy Sacrament* goes down as glib with them
 as the *Covenant* of old; there is no Scruple, when the *Cause* is con-
 cern'd: In the mean while, I dare engage, that if this next *Ele-*
ction, they can make a Party prevalent enough to repeal the *Test*,
 as they have already cancell'd the other *Penal Laws*, they will re-
 turn to their *Old Inveſtires*. Our *Sacrament* shall be *Reprobated as*
an Anti-christian Rite, and all *Communion* with our *Church* sinful and
 abominable. Now here, if they would give me leave to expostulate
 a little, I would desire them to consider, whether any thing can
 bring a greater reproach upon *Religion*, the *Innocence*, and *Simplicity*
 of the *Gospel*, than such vain *Tergiversations* as these? Such *Linsy*
Woolsy Consciences? Such profane *Halters* between *God* and *Babel*? Can
 we imagine there should be any thing more in all these *Mockeries*,
 than a *Jordid Interest*, *spiteful Revenge*, or popular *Humour*? To be
 cry'd up by the *Factions*, and make something of a *Figure* amongst
 the *Mob-Servants*, which they despair'd of obtaining from *Men* of
Sense and *Principles*. This indeed is not exactly the *Laudian* Tem-
 per; but the little difference is for the worse, being so bot, where
 they need not be so much as *likewarm*, and less than so, where they
 should express a *religious Fervour*: And since *Almighty God* threat-
 ened to *spew the former out of his Mouth*, I fear his *Blessings* may be
 the less, if these others be not *spew'd out of the Government*.

(4)

And this, Sir, brings me to the *Question* you propounded (and what I presume was chiefly aim'd at in the Acknowledgment you made) *How it comes to pass, that Dutch live in so much Peace and Quiet, notwithstanding the many Persuasions tolerated amongst them?* Which may be clearly answer'd in very few Words; *viz.* because no such troublesome, uneasy People, as aforementioned, have to do in the Government. And I have sometimes admir'd our great Sticklers for Liberty, and Toleration, who upon all occasions are too forward in crying up the *Low-Country Model*, and pretend to be of a much quicker Scent than others, never *bit* of this; but, upon second Thoughts considered, they generally belong to some of the *Factions*, and would be sure not to exclude themselves: Yet, doubtless, what *Horace* observes in Poetry, is as true in *Politics*, *Decipit exemplar vitiiis imitabile*, 'tis hard coming at the same end, without the like means: To imitate their *Toleration*, without their *Caution* and *Restrictions*, will not only be *sordid*, as the Poet terms it, but *ineffectual*, prove a *Remedy* worse than the *Disease*; for from thence, more especially, it proceeds, that their *Toleration* has turn'd to Account: In all other Places, where *Universal* and unlimited, it has fallen a Prey to the undermining Stratagems of that *Spiritual Usurper* upon all *Christian Liberty* whatsoever, as will hereafter appear. For your fuller satisfaction therefore, I shall give you an Account of the *Dutch Toleration*; as likewise how hard it will be to bring us to that *Model*, and yet shew you 'tis that alone can do our business: All other *Courses* will be much more *unpracticable*, and *unsafe*, and multiply those *Distractions* which we design'd to prevent. And that you may give the greater Credit to what I shall say herein, it shall not depend upon my sole *Authority* (though it was my chief Enquiry during some Years abode there) but have the Confirmation of Sir *William Temple's* Observations upon those *Provinces*; which, as I think it was the first, so 'tis generally believed, the exactest Piece we have had from that *Ingenious Gentleman*; Clear Matter of Fact, without that partiality and by-respect, which many times is not avoided by such as pretend most thereunto.

Now what makes it seem more difficult and unpracticable amongst us, than them, is, That the *Constitution of their Government*, and *Temper of their People*, will be found better adapted thereunto, with some other Advantages of lesser Moments: All which take, as follows.

First, Then the *Constitution of Their Government* seems better adapted thereunto: To which purpose, I must let you know, that however those *Provinces* are given out to be a *Common-Wealth*, a

Free

Free State, with such other swelling Titles of Liberty, Privileges, &c. as if the People had the sole Controul, the *Dernier Resort*, in all Publick Determinations (and so indeed it was in those little *Democracies* of *Greece*, and that great one of *Rome*, where no Laws could be enacted, nor *Magistrates* chosen, &c. but by their Consent) upon Enquiry it will appear quite otherwise; the *Populace*, the *Burghers*, have no more to do in the Government, than you and I, if we dwelt, or but sojourn'd amongst them: 'Tis the exactest *Oligarchy* that is this day, or perhaps ever was in the World, where the *Magistrates* of every *City*, or *Province*, are as absolute as any *Prince* in *Christendom*: Enact Laws, levy Taxes, chuse one another into the several Offices of Government, and upon a *Vacancy* (which seldom happens, but by death) elect another to fill up their number, without any controul, but from their *Stadtholder*, who hath a negative Voice, or somewhat like it in all their *Elections*; and tho' a reasonable Check, is what their *Hogan Moganships* have been most uneasie under, and endeavoured more than once to free themselves from. Sir W. T. instances more particularly in the *City* of *Amsterdam*, as chief of the *Province* of *Holland*, and in that, as chief of the *Seven Provinces*; "and tells you, the Government of that City is in the sole management of Thirty six Persons, whom he calls *Senators*; and saith, indeed, they were formerly chosen by the Voices of the *Richer Burghers*, or *Freemen* of the *City*; who, upon the death of a *Senator*, met together either in a *Church*, a *Market*, or some other Place, spacious enough to receive their Numbers, and there made an *Election* of the Person to succeed, by a Majority of Voices. But about One hundred and thirty, or forty, Years agoe, when the *Towns* of *Holland* began to encrease in Circuit and People, so as these frequent Assemblies grew into danger of Tumult and Disorders, upon every occasion, by reason of their Number and Contentions: This *Election* of *Senators*, came by the Resolution of the *Burghers* in one of their *General Assemblies*, to be devolv'd forever upon the standing *Senate* for that time; so that ever since when any of their Number dies, a new one is chosen by the rest of the *Senate*, without any intervention of the other *Burghers*, which makes the Government a sort of *Oligarchy*, and very different from a popular Government, as it is generally esteemed by those, who passing, or living in these Countries, content themselves with common Observations, or Inquiries. And this Resolution of the *Burghers* either was agreed upon, or followed, by General Consent, or Example, about the same time, in all the *Towns* of the *Provinces*, tho' with some difference

Obs. p. 92.

difference in the Number of the *Senators*. That far the forementioned *Gentlemen*; whereto I must further add, that these *Senators* both here, and in all other *Towns*, are of the same *Communion*, as to the *Publick Exercise of Religion*; which, after some *Debates*, and *Alterations*, upon their *Defection from Spain*, was fix'd upon the *Geneva-Model*, with an *Allay of Erastianism*, the better to keep under the *Insolency of their Presbyteries*, so troublesome elsewhere. 'Tis not of much moment to tell you farther, that as these *Senators* marry generally into one anothers *Families*, so they keep the *Government*, for the most part, amongst themselves, the *Children*, with other *Relations*, coming in, and gradually ascending, if capable of it; which nevertheless being faithfully discharg'd, without *Partiality*, *Avarice*, or any other such by-respects, the *People* seem no ways dissatisfied therewith.

This, Sir, is a small *Scratch* of the *Present Establishment* of that *People*, which I shall farther confirm to you, upon the *Authority* of the present *Bishop of Sarum*; who, speaking of the *Low-Countries*, how they got their *Liberty*, and how they maintain'd it, adds, yet after all this, tho' the *Name of their Government* has a greater sound towards *Liberty* than our own, we are really the much freer *People* of the two, where every *Man* has a more open access to a proportion'd *Share in the Government*, than among them.

The high-flown *Demagogues* of our *Nation*, I know, will censure this as a great defect, a giving up their *Rights*, a betraying their *Privileges*, with a great deal such like *Commonwealth-Cant*, as has betray'd us into confusion more than once; whereas doubtless those thoughtful *People* made a sober *Judgment* of Things, and well understood such *Privileges* not worth keeping, as tended only to the distraction of their *Debates*, and might, in the end, destroy their *Government*: To be sure the *General Toleration*, which followed soon after, could have stood upon no other *Bottom*; and those at the *Helm* were so well satisfy'd with this *New Constitution*, as to set the *Sovereignty* of all the *Seven Provinces* upon the same

Sir W. T. Foot: For so the *Assembly of the States General*, which consisted of above Eight hundred *Persons*, who meeting together in one *Place* from so many several *Parts*, gave too great a shock to the whole *Body* of the *Union*, made their *Debates* long, and sometimes confused, the *Resolutions* slow, and upon sudden *Occasions* out of time, was by mutual *Consent* of the whole *Body*, devolved upon those, now stil'd the *States General*, which consists of so many *Deputies* from each *Province*, more or less, as they are pleas'd to send; which makes no difference, as to their *Votes*, because given according to their several *Provinces*, not number of *Persons*,

Persons, altho' their number seldom arise to so many as the
at Amsterdam consists of.

Now, Sir, to come to the *disparity*, in reference to our selves,
none of this is done, or must be thought off amongst us, as to the
whole *Body of the Government*; which, though a *Free Monarchy*, is
so well temper'd, as we see every *Subject* own'd to have more *Liberty*,
than under a *Free State*: 'Tis pity it should be so much abused;
yet since it is so, might there not be some *Abridgment* as to par-
ticular Persons, without the least *Infracti*on upon the whole Con-
stitution, an *Exchange of Temporal for a Spiritual Liberty*? They that
will have a *New Religion*, let them live according to this *New*
Model of our Neighbours, and forbear meddling in *Civil Concerns*;
otherwise I cannot see how the *Old Establishment* should be long up-
held: For whilst the *Tolerated Parties* are free to *Vote*, and put in
their *Claims to all Publick Administrations*, all *Offices of Honour*,
Trust, or *Profit*, they may carry things as they please; what tho-
rough their *Industry and Importunity*, *Cabals and Clamours*, *Libels and*
Diet, 'tis as possible to stop a raging Sea, as the *Madness of such*
People: No man of *Sense* will attempt it; for tho' they are di-
vided amongst themselves, in *Doctrines*, *Modes of Worship*, and *Forms*
of Government, *Ephraim* against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against
Ephraim; yet the *Judith of the Church of England*, is the united Ob-
ject of all their *Spites*, and what they study most implacably to
supplant and destroy: And if we reflect how many of them, in
the late Reign, comply'd with the *Dispensing Power*, and super-
seded all those *Laws*, which the Nation, for above an hundred
years successively, had compil'd to secure the *Protestant Religion*,
there needs no *Window* into any of their *Breasts*, (as a leading
Holder forth then wish'd in an *Address*) to discover the *Reality of their*
Intentions: 'Tis too clear from thence, and all their other *Practi-*
ces, that the *Church of England* is the only *Papery* they have a *Pique*
against; and can confederate with that which is really so, nay,
Turk or Jew, to effect its Ruine. In my Judgment, therefore, it
would be a very reasonable, and necessary *Test*, (and, I fancy, re-
duce the truly conscious *Dissenters* to a very small number) to try
the sincerity of their *Intentions*, and steadiness of their *Principles*,
by an *Indulgence* of that *Liberty* they are so zealous for, upon Con-
dition not to intermeddle in *Civil Affairs*, which their weak *Under-*
standings, strong *Prejudices*, and vain *Enthusiasms*, render them most
unqualified for: Will the *Freeholder*, even to the *Cottager* with his
Cabbage-ground and *Apple-Tree*, recede from the *Right* he has of
throwing up his *Cap* at a *County-Election*? The Members of smal-

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ler Burroughs, as well as larger Corporations, of putting their
 gesses to an Expence upon the like account, together with being
 on the Livery, strutting at Common Halls, Common Councils, and
 the like? Nay, even in Country-Parishes, will they recede from
 serving as Constable in their turns, controlling the Poor as Over-
 seers, or Parsons as Church-Wardens? So likewise the Country-Gen-
 tleman; how will he take being left out of the Peace, or not ap-
 pearing upon the Bench at Sessions, and Assizes, as well as his con-
 forming Neighbours? If I mistake not the Temper of the several
 Parties, these little things will be of hard digestion, since they have
 been ever observ'd as forward to command, as uneasy to obey; yet
 if we would go according to the Low-Country-Plan, (to use the
 New Word) this course must be taken; for 'tis this alone has se-
 cur'd them, and this, or nothing, will secure us: And therefore a
 very learned Person, about Eighteen or Twenty Years since, who
 understood the Unreasonableness of our several Separations extreme-
 ly well, had fully studied all their Cavils, and as fully evinced
 them, if any thing of Eviction could work upon that sort of People:

Pref. p. 85.

Yet, in his Preface to that *Demonstrative Piece*, whether it was to
 let the Dissenters see, he was averse to nothing which might tend
 to a Settlement, or propounded it from a Friend, whose Head hath
 been always pregnant with Comprehension, and Toleration-Projects:
 Or, perhaps, to humour some great Men at the Helm, who about
 that time stickled very much for a Suspension of Penal Laws; upon
 what Design, as every Eye then discover'd, so, I fear, in spite of
 all Endeavours to the contrary, that Design will be ever concern'd
 therein, and advanc'd thereby; I say, upon whatever Account it
 was, this Reverend Worthy Person, in his Preface, makes a short
 Essay as to a Toleration, laying down such Restrictions and Limitations,
 as are requisite to prevent the Mischiefs of an unlimited Licentious-
 ness, which he saith would certainly bring Confusion amongst us, and in
 the end, Popery: Now the first of his Restrictions, is, That none be
 permitted this Indulgence, who do not declare, that they hold all Commu-
 nion with our Church unlawful; for it seems unreasonable to allow it to o-
 thers, and will give countenance to endless and causeless Separations.
 And give me leave to add, will gratifie the Caprices of such wan-
 ton Libertines, as live Scepticks, and dye Atheists: To which kind
 of Scepticism I find several, who associate with at least, and abett
 the Dissenters, much inclin'd. Quere, as to your Lord Mayor. Ano-
 ther Restriction is, That no Person, so indulg'd, be capable of any Pub-
 lick Office; it being unreasonable, that such should be trusted with Govern-
 ment, who look upon what the Government hath already establish'd as un-
 lawful.

Testis: A Third is, That all such as enjoy it, must declare the particular Congregation they are of; and enter their Names before such Commissioners as shall be authoriz'd to that purpose. I shall mention no more, (tho there be several others tending to the same purpose) but only appeal whether you, or any Man else of sober Sense, must not acknowledge these to be highly reasonable, and absolutely necessary; that we may know what Men are, and where to have them. In *Martial-Law*, none are more severely proceeded against, than such as fly from their own, or are taken as *Spies* in the Enemies Camp; yet we must suffer these Enemies of our Church, tho' they have been all along in the *Dissenters* Service, to enter our *Line* at pleasure, take our *Word*, our *Test*, and *Sacrament*, that they may be the better qualified to work our Ruine; nay, are so stupidly senseless, as not only to let them alone, but entertain and caress them as Friends: Just thus the *Amalakites* serv'd *Israel*, and we know how highly Almighty God was incens'd thereat, and what the People suffer'd thereby. But not to ramble too far, or be thought too much concern'd upon the Church-Account, let us consider our Government in General, whether it can be so well secur'd by such an *Hodge-podge* of Perivallions, who will be continually pulling several ways, and aiming at several Interests, as the *Low Countries*, where a few understanding Men *All* unanimously for the *Publick Welfare*, without any by-Regards, or *Faction* Designs.

Secondly, What I mentioned, in the next place, by way of *Disparity*, as likely to make a *Toleration* less feasible amongst us, than the *Dutch*, is the different Temper and Humours of the Two Nations: They are a serious, and thoughtful People, wholly intent upon their own private Concerns, and very industrious in all their particular Callings; frugal and parsimonious to the utmost; truly speaking, necessitated thereunto, by reason of the many and continual *Imposts* laid upon them, which no People under Heaven so contentedly bear, nor so indefatigably wade through, being abundantly satisfied with the Prudence and Integrity of their Governours, and highly transported with an imaginary Conceit of Liberty, which no body can see into, or understand, but themselves: So that, as the forementioned Gentleman observes, *All Appetites and Passions seem to run lower here, than in other Countries*. I am sure they do not run so low in ours, which, on the contrary, is too sanguine to be settled as it ought; for, to pass by that old Charge of *Rex Diabolorum*, the English good Nature was so strongly sow'd by our late Times of *Libertinism*, and *Confusion*, Men contracted such a habit of *Self-conceit*, *Opposition*, and *Disobedience*, were so totally given

over to a perverse *Enthusiastical Spirit*; and for so long a time, as now indeed it may be look'd upon, next to impossible, absolutely to *conjure it down*; yet doubtless it ought to be confin'd to its own home, the *melancholy Tombs* of their restless unquiet Thoughts; and not wander up and down the World, to possess others with the *Legions* of such *Frenzies*; which, if let alone, will certainly be; for 'tis a *Pestilent Infection*, and without due Caution spreads like the *Plague*. And that this unhappy Disposition began from the *Separation-Fraternity*, and is much more incident to the *English*, than *Dutch Temper*, take this single *Instance*: There were more *Disputes*, *Contests*, and *Quarrels*, amongst the few *Brownists*, and other *Independant Sectaries*, which resorted thither the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth's*, King *James the First's* time, and so on, than among the whole *Dutch Nation* ever since they *Reform'd*: 'Tis unaccountable what impertinent *Controversies* arose between them, even to the Colour of *Aaron's Ephod*, whether it were *Blew*, or a *Sea-green*, which made an irreconcilable difference between their *Pastors*, and consequently the *Flocks* divided.

Once indeed there was a *Controversie* amongst the *Dutch*, about some *School-Points* (and I think that the only *Instance* can be given) which rose to a great height; but then you must know it was occasion'd principally by two great *State-Factions*, wherein most *Divines*, especially of the *Geneva-cut*, are too easily made *Properties*: In this, to be sure, they serv'd themselves to purpose; for obtaining by *Power*, what they could not get by *Argument*, one Party became *Judge* of the other, and thrust them down amongst the several *Herd*s of *Tolerated Dissenters*. And here give me leave to observe a farther Evidence of the peaceable Temper and Disposition of those People; for tho' the ablest, and most learned in their *Government*, have all along laugh'd at the *Stoical Fatality*, and *Reprobation-Rigours* of their *Divines*, and known what hard measure the *Remonstrants* the *Arminians* had met withal; yet never thought it worth while to have the Debate reviv'd, which might only revive new *Exasperations* about insignificant *Opinions*; or, as I find it express'd in a late Poem, for *Points by neither Party understood*. On the other side, to return home, how differently have these Disputes been manag'd amongst us, and how vexatiously continued? *Arminian* and *Papist*, pass'd a long time for *Terms synonymous*; which not only the *Pulpit-Beautifiers*, but several *Grandeecs* of the *House*, maliciously apply'd to every *Orthodox Divine*, and indeed all others, who would not go along with them in those cursed *Desolations*, they then brought upon *Church and State*; which having wretchedly

wretchedly effected, how did the *Religious Beasts* multiply upon their Hands? With what implacable Enmity, did the *Presbyterian* and *Independant* prosecute each other? And how violent in their several ways, both against them, and one another, were the numerous Spawn of *Equivocal Sells*, which like the overflowing *Nile*, their *Deluge* of Mischief so fatally produc'd? Insomuch, as when *Cromwel* had bestrid the *Commonwealth*, and set himself in the *Saddle*, he was presum'd to connive at several *Church of England Congregations*, both in *Publick Parishes*, and *Private Assemblies*, in spite to the *Presbyterians*, and other *Settaries*, whom he dreaded as much as the *Loyal Party*; and did, with reason, expect they should improve those *Calumnies*, and *Invectives* against him, whereof he had been the grand Promoter against their *Rightful*, and *Lawful King*; and so he found it to his End, which that perplexity and vexation he met with from *Fanaticks* of all sorts, and in all Places, *City, Country*, but especially his *Army*, was presum'd to hasten.

'Tis true, when the *Legislative Power*, the other day, thought fit to *establish* them an *Indulgence*, there was a Project set on-foot to make *Two Sticks one*, (to use their own *Canting Terms*) and several Proposals laid down in order thereunto; yet we find them still separated from one another, and the several Parties, upon every little occasion, dividing among themselves, tho' much Art is used to smother and conceal it: At the best, it was but a *Flourish*, a *Cord of Vanity*, which bound them together, and it held accordingly; neither can you expect otherwise, upon consideration of the *Causes* which that great *Undertaker* alligns of those *Divisions*, the *Root* from whence their *Discords* spring: Come they not hence, even of our *Esses*? Whatever you find to have been the *Cause* of them, whether *Spiritual Pride*, or a *Contentious Disposition*, or an *Affectation* of *Singularity*, or *Error of Opinion*, or *Admiration* of *Mens Persons*, or a *Sourness* of *Spirit*, or an *Ambition* of drawing *Disciples* after us: Let the *Cause* be what it will, it must be remov'd, &c. All which is sooner said than done; such *Pecadillo's*, and of so long Continuance, are not easily dislodg'd: Although he might as well have taken his *Character* from *St. Paul's Perillous Times*, which he foretells in the last Days, when Men should be *Heady, High-minded, Covetous, Proud, Boasters*, &c. so far from growing better, as he declares they should wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived. Now, Sir, whatever Censure I may incur from others, my Appeal is to your self, whether the Account here given of these People be any other, than what their daily Practices do sadly verify?

Two Sticks made one,
p. 23.

2 Tit. 3:
Ver. 9.

be? And if left to their own Culture, and Ingenuity, any likelihood they should reform? 'Tis grown as customary, as habitual with them, to *thwart, contradict, and oppose*, as with the *Dutch to live quietly, and mind their own business*: From which Disposition of theirs, I may continue the Disparity, and observe,

Thirdly, How their constant application to Business and Employment, afford them no time to *dream of New Lights*, or trouble themselves about any other Perswasion, as to Religion, than what they were brought up in. For, as at their first *Establishment*, there were *Three* predominant Way of Opinion, (I won't say Doctrine) and Worship, which they had then Reform'd themselves into, *Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists*; so the Toleration more especially extended to them, and has been generally continued down in the same Families, from *Father to Children* ever since; neither is it so usual with them to *flit up and down*, from one *Maggotty Perswasion* to another, as among us. Those upstart puny Sects, which arose of later Days, are mostly Foreign, and mostly from *England* too; as the *Brownists*, and *Independants* first, the *Sabbatarians* after them, then *Quakers, Muggletonians*, and what not? Who have prevail'd with some of the Natives to be as foolish and mad as themselves, but not many; and, perhaps, had they been kept to the same Thoughtfulness at home for Bread, and all other Necessaries of Life, would not have so wantonly gone *a-Whoring with their own Inventions*.

And the like reason may be given, that there are not so many *Libertines, Atheistical, Profane Persons*, as in many other Parts, where all Religions are *Tolerated*: It cannot seem strange there should be some without any; and that there are not more, shall not be attributed so much to their *Virtue as Necessity*: For not only their *Mechanicks* and *Tradesmen*, but Persons of the best *Quality*, are oblig'd to the like Care and Industry, as to the Concerns of Humane Life. The Ground on which their many populous Cities stand, is of small Compass; and the *Rents* of that little *Land* they have, are very low, not able to maintain any one in the Port of a *Gentleman*; (that is, an *Idleman*, which is their Term for that degree) whereof as there are few *Ancient Families* amongst them, so the Children of those that are, as likewise of their *Chief Magistrates*, and *Rich Merchants*, are constantly brought up to some *Employment, Military or Civil*, with an *Education* agreeable thereunto, which, together with their Natural Disposition, keeps their Thoughts fix'd upon things really *advantageous*; and so you shall generally find them very intent upon their *Designs*, and *assiduous*

in their *Application*. Will you give me leave to apply this, and observe how opposite their Course is to that of our *Mercurial Wits*, who being born to great *Fortunes*, and valued for the great Worth of those *Predecessors* which rais'd them, as if nothing else were wanting which should recommend them to the World, think themselves above any serious *Application*, either as to Business, or Knowledge. I need not tell you how little, or no, Education our young *Master* has from his very Cradle; how careful the good *Lady-Mother* is, he should not be kept in too much at School; what a fruitless Figure he makes in the *University*; and when he comes up to the *Extravagancies* of the Town, is as much for living above *sober Sense*, as our *Dissenters* above *Ordinances*. God forbid this should be a *General Rule*; yet it could be wish'd there were more *Exceptions*, than daily Experience will permit us to observe: *Liberty of Life*, tho' not so much clamour'd for, is as much in Vogue as *Liberty of Conscience*, and the one doubtless consequent of the other: For the practical *Atheist* hath been ever thought to introduce the *Speculation*; and when Men are left free to all *Religions*, that is the proper time to set up for none. I remember, during *Cromwell's Usurpation*, the *Leviathan-Doctrine* was first started; and as some *Gentlemen* of too good Parts, unless better employ'd, were industrious to cultivate and improve it, so many of our *Aisy Sparks* about Town, and elsewhere, became their *sordid Imitators*: Nothing would go down with them, but a *State of War*, with a total Abolition of all difference between Good and Evil, Right and Wrong. Now, whether it was their being weary, or *asham'd*, of such unreasonable *Notions*, or an affectation of *Novelty*, the delight of vain *Minds*, *Deism* seems to have superseded that, and is become at present the Darling-Subject of every young *Libertine's* Discourse; who will presume to expose, and run down *Reveal'd Religion* with all Confidence imaginable; altho' the little *Impertinent* never thought a *sober hour* in its life; and understands the *Philosophy of Matter and Motion*, no farther, than that his own Brains are in a continual *Hurry*: Not but that these *Engines* too are set on work by some more plodding *Heads*, who have several secret Designs in exploding the *Authority of Scripture*, upon the *Politick* as well as *Prophane Account*; and, among the rest, to *buoy up* such *Models of Government*, as the *Belief* thereof expressly *overturns*. Here then arises the main *Quere*: What shall we do with such *Dissenters* as these? The *Sceptick*, the *Deist*, the *Atheist*, under what *Class* shall we place them? They have the same *Plea* to be confidg, which the others always brought, that is, *Number* and *Antiquity* isified

being able to vie, in either Particular, with any of their differing *Factions*, and, for ought I see, in a short time, may outdo them all; since daily Experience assures us, 'tis the last result of *Partick Zeal*, for being *over-heated*, and *warpy* with running in several *Courses of Faction and Opinion*, it sits down in the end, and centres here. And yet, all this while, the rest will not see what a fine Thread they have spun for themselves, as well as us; whilst the one are undermining the *Church of England*, these others are doing the same to the *Christian Religion*. And hence, to speak impartially, the *Latitude* some *Druids* have taken, as to the *Sabbath*, and other Points of like Nature, must be acknowledged not a little conducing to this Grand *Apostasy*; so readily will *Corrupt Minds* improve bad *Principles*, deny those *Mysteries* by wholesale, which some *Mens rash and nice Enquiries* had made more perplex'd and intricate, than the *Simplicity* of True Religion stands in need of, or did ever design. And this, Sir, is the result of an *Unlimited Toleration*; which going on at this rate, (unless the *Wise Men* interpose their *Inquisition*) must necessarily end in a *Sic autem vivunt Philosophi*.

Fourthly, Another thing which makes the Dutch Toleration in the more *obscure*, is, That Their Government is most *excess* and *punctual* in the Administration of Justice, and Extension of Law; which as they are enacted at first, upon the mature deliberation of a few sober understanding Men, with sole regard to the *Common Weal*, the *Publick Good*; so, once *proclaim'd*, there is no evading their true Import; or escaping the *Penalty* of a *Violation*. The *Lawyers* among them dare not *Open*, or so much as *Quibble* against what their Superiours have thought fit to *establish*, much less *study Phis*, and *hammer out Niceties*, to gratifie bad Men, in frustrating whatever good the *Legislative Power* design'd, and put them to the trouble of an *Explanatory* *Ad next Session*, which runs the same risk. Yet that we are under these very Circumstances, I need not tell you; which, with the Insolency of *Faction*, the remissness and indifferency of the *Executive Power*, hath brought us too nigh an Affinity with that deplorable Estate of the Jewish *Anarchy*, where every one did what seem'd right in his own Eyes. Otherwise, we have *Laws* more than enough; and could they have executed themselves, all Allegations for a Toleration had been long since quash'd; not only the *Externals* of God's *Publick Worship* had been kept up in *Decency* and *Order*, but every Man's *Temporal Concern*, his *Rights* and *Properties* had upon a much *firmer Bottom*. On the contrary, a *Universal Indifferency*, as to *Religious Duties*, hath so far *unprincipled*,
and

and I should have thought, that our modern *Faith* is not only without Works, but so wholly confin'd to some *Spiritual Chimeras*, as there is little of *Truth* or *Trust* in the ordinary Transactions of *Human Life*: Our *Manners* and *Customs* is in a very precarious Condition, what with the *Latitude* of their new Notions, and the advantage to be taken from the *Perplexity*, the *Niceties* of our *Laws*, with the little *Tricks* of *Practice*, so shamefully now a-days *alla-mode*, an undesigning *Integrity* can scarce tell whom to trust, and is frequently at a loss, either to *recover Right*, or *repel Wrong*: Neither will it be ever otherwise, as long as so many *Law-jobbing Make-bates* are suffered to swarm in every *County* throughout the *Kingdom*. Were *Grievances* to be redress'd by their *Malignity* and *epidemick Contagion*, I know no one thing sooner to be consider'd; that it is otherwise, you and I cannot help. In short, Sir, a *strict* and *Regular Execution* of *Laws*, is the *Life* and *Soul* of any *Government*. Take these two different *Instances*: In the *Spanish Netherlands*, we find the *Romish Religion* solely establish'd, with the *Rigour*, tho' not the *Name*, of that *Inquisition*; which was the most plausible *Plea* for their first *Defection*: On the other side, in the *United Provinces*, there is a general *Toleration*: both which, the *Uniformity* of the one, and *Indulgence* of the other, are supported, and kept up, by a vigorous *Execution* of such *Laws* as were thought most proper thereunto; and if either, the latter are the more exact and severe, by reason it is so natural for different *Opinions* to *clash* with, and *thwart* each other; so far are they from admitting them into the *Mitigation*, giving the least way to *New Lights*, and *Fanciful Enthusiasms* there, as well knowing such a *Freedom* is enough to make any *Government* as *monstrous* as that *Picture*, which had an *Hanc Populus* affix'd.

Firstly, I shall only add further, that the *Dutch Toleration* was established in the *Infancy* of the *Reformation*, when Men had a sincere and unfeigned *Zeal* for the *Truth* of *Religion*, desired nothing more than to have her free'd from *Ignorance* and *Superstition*, such spurious *Doctrines*, and burthenome *Ceremonies*, as rust of *Time*, neglect of *Enquiry*, and, above all, the *Intrigues* of *Papal Usurpation*, had impos'd upon the *World* and for several *Centuries* together made pass for *Catholic*. Now, altho' this *Zeal* was not always according to *Knowledge*, the different, and, in some Places, not justifiable *Methods* which were taken, did much *obscure*, ay, and *scandalize* so good an *Undertaking*; yet the main Point being gain'd in shaking off the *Roman Yoke*, whether out of *Trust*, *Prudence*, or *Pity*, I shall not determine, Men generally sit down abundantly satisfied

satisfied with the Enjoyment of that Persuasion, which made the deepest Impression upon their *Minds*: And this happened in such a juncture for the *United Provinces*, as perhaps no Age will be ever able to parallel. For the *Spanish Interest* prevailing in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, with the *Walloon Provinces*, whoever could, or would not submit, retreated hither, as likewise great multitudes out of *France* and *Germany*; which made them the *Pantheon*, the common Receptacle of all People pretending to the *Liberty of Conscience*, the only thing then desired, and in the enjoyment whereof (whether well or ill-inform'd we are not now to enquire) they were abundantly satisfied.

How much the World (especially amongst us) is cool'd as to such a Temper, and heated as to much worse Dispositions, our many Feuds and Fashions, unreasonable Cavils, and implacable Enmities, too sadly declare. Men now a-days, bellow out the *Protestant Religion*, the *Protestant Religion*, as the *Jews* of old, *The Temple of the Lord*, *the Temple of the Lord*, as if the very name, or relation thereunto, might authorize the grossest Impieties, their wilful Perjuries, and seditious Practices, the Violation of *Publick Laws*, and disturbance of *Publick Peace*, even to a most unnatural Rebellion, and execrable Regicide: This, Sir, impartially speaking, is undeniable Matter of Fact; and if ever the Nation returns to its *Wits* again, *sober Sense*, and *sound Principles*, such *Protestants* will be recorded with a very black Character, the Reproach not only of the *Reformation*, but of every thing which tends to true Religion, like the *Pharisees* and *Zelots* among the *Jews*, sacrificing all to their own gross Hypocrisy, sordid Avarice, and self-will'd Ambition; and God grant they do not bring the like fatal End upon our *Place* and *Nation*: The dreadful apprehension whereof makes not only my hand, but my heart, tremble; and, amid'st such melancholy Reflections, with to have been born in an Age, when *Wise Men* had had the Ascendant of *Fools*, and *Honest Men* of *Knaves*. On the contrary, as things now stand, you know the Close of that *Old Rhime*, *Knaves and Fools will quite undo us*.

Neither can our Prospect be much better, if we look upon the *Reformation* abroad: What a strange Indifferency have some Great Princes of the *Empire* lately discover'd? And how gross the Apostacy of others? To be sure, where there was a *General Toleration* of *Lutheran* and *Calvinists*, together with the several other differing Persuasions, *Anabaptists*, *Arrians*, *Socinians*, &c. they are either wholly extirpated, as in *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, the *Two Austrias*, *Poland*, &c. or in a fair Tendency thereunto, as at present in

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Angels, and Devils: In all which Places they were very numerous; but what with contending amongst themselves, and *innovating*, or *opposing* the *Establish'd Government*, they have been either worn'd, or beaten out, with all the contempt and ease imaginable: And that the same Design is carrying on amongst us, and the same Event expected, they must be wilfully blind who do not see, what with *Licentiousness* on the one hand, and *Hypocrisie* on the other, the no-*Reality* of such as pretend most, and great *Indifference* of all the rest: as we are naturally prone to fall into Extremes, so we seem strangely dispos'd (and the more, because unwilling to believe it, to fall into that which we have all along pretended most vehemently to avoid.

Thus, Sir, have I *impartially*, and perhaps too *freely*, told you what I know, and what I think of the *Dutch Toleration*; yet without this *Freedom*, it had been impossible to set you in a *True Light*, so as to discover the gross mistakes of our *Commonwealth Pretenders*, who are always admitting the *Hollanders*, with the Excellent *Administration* People live under there; which nevertheless they understand no more, than how the *Empire*, and *Army* of *Russia*, is now manag'd during the *Czar's* Absence; and the many *Projects* they are so troublesome withal, both in *Theory* and *Practice*, are as opposite thereunto, as one *Pole* to the other: Yet, since things are brought to that pass, as a *Toleration* must be, give me leave to tell you, that venturing in any other than a *Dutch Bottom*, will *shipwreck* the whole *Cargo*; that is, without a *Metaphor*, keeping the *Magistracy* in such hands as shall be of one *Piece*, *Uniform*, and *Unanimous* in the *Management* thereof; for which I shall briefly lay down these following Reasons, and so end your Trouble.

1st We shall have some Face of *Government* in an *Establish'd National Religion*; which I mention solely upon a *Civil Account*, and that not only in regard to the outward *Decorum*, (which yet ought to be consider'd) but the absolute Necessity thereof, as the only means of preventing those continual *Contrasts* and *Caballings*, which the several *Factions* will have one against another; and if admitted to *Debates*, all together against that which is uppermost; the *Mischief*, and *Inconveniences* whereof, can no other way be redress'd, than by fixing the *Ruling Power* in one *Perswasion*, to whom it shall solely appertain to take care of the whole, see the several *Parties* enjoy their private *Opinions*, without the least *Infraction* upon our *Publick Peace*. On the other side, let us reflect, first, upon the *Undecency* of the thing, how preposterous it must seem to any Man of *Sence*, whether *Native* or *Foreigner*, that the *Sword*

should dance attendance from one Place to another, according to the *Caprice* of each prevailing *Faction*: This Year's *Lord Mayor* has a *Conscience* of such *Latitude*, as to *Trim* it between *Church* and *Conventicle*, without the least regret; whereas his *Successor* may have one so *squeamish*, and *straight-lac'd*, as not to come within the Sound of *St. Paul's Organ*, or under the roof of that *Sumptuous*, and therefore *Superstitious Structure*. But then too having got the *Sword* to go their own way, how strangely must it wander up and down, as each Party prevail to get into the *Chair*; one Year it must attend a *Presbyterian-Meeting*, the next, perhaps, will fall to the *Independant's Lot*, and the *Anabaptists* will ill resent it to go without their turn; nay, we are not sure but the *Quakers* may put in their Claim, and without any Offence to the *Inward-Man*, desire it should attend their *Motions* on a bulk in *Grace-Church-street*. This, Sir, I take to be as *Natural* to the aspiring *Spirits* of those several *Schismatical Herds*, as *Milk* to a *Calf*, and they will *low* as much if kept without it; yet how-decent this will be, how unbecoming the *State* and *Gravity* of any *Magistracy*, I leave for you, and the *World* to judge. However that of *Publick Security* is much more to be consider'd; for whatever *Pleas* may be alledg'd, or *Protestations* made, we know how things went, when the *weak Conscience* had got the *strongest Sword*, *Dominion* was then founded in *Grace*, and the appointed time come for the *Saints* to inherit the *Earth*, and bring in *Subjection* all the *Powers of Darkness*.

2dly, The *Ancient Grandeur and Hospitality* of our *City-Magistracy*, and proportionably of all other *Corporations*, will be hereby continued and kept up; which since it came into these hands, hath been most scandalously slighted, and disus'd; for the *Character* which our *Poet Laureat* gave of that cursed *Shimei*, who first led the *Van* to *Faction* and *Frugality*, is true of all the rest; *Cool* are their *Kitchens*, tho' their *Brains* are hot. To speak freely, a *sneaking, single-sou'd Selfary*, cannot exert it self to any thing that is *Great* or *Generous*, *Gain* is their *Godliness*, and *Profit* their *Preserment*; in order whereunto, upon Enquiry, you shall find, that those *Great Offices* wherein worthy *Citizens* were formerly wont to expend several thousand Pounds, are now made to bear their own Charges, and bring somewhat into Pocket too: And, as a farther ill consequence hereof, there are those will tell you all *Places of Inferiour Trust* are dispos'd off accordingly; and whoever makes a hard *Bar-gain*, will be more solicitous for his own *Reimbursement*, than the *Commonweal*. 'Twas nobly said of *Tully*, *Nec quidquam aliud videndum est nobis, quos Populus Romanus hoc in Gradu collocarit, nisi ne*
quid

quid privatis studiis de operâ publicâ detrahamus; neither can it possibly go well with any *Government*. If Men in *Publick Places* have not *Publick Spirit*; under which defect I am afraid our poor *Nation*, at present more especially, very much labours.

3dly, This will make an exact *Discrimination* between the truly *conscientious Dissenter*, and the *Politick*, the *Faction* *Intriguer*; for when every Man must declare to what *Body of Church-Membership* he will join, and is oblig'd therein to abide (whether in the *Lord*, or not, the same *Lord* shall judge at last) our fundry shifting *Proteus's* such *Amphibious Christians*, as can live both in *Land* and *Water*, *Church* and *Conventicle*, (and that, more especially, to get *Prey*) will intirely be defeated of their many base Ends; *Conscience* shall have its full *Liberty*, but the *State-Libertine* wholly abridg'd, from promoting their *Maggotty Commonwealth Innovations*; or abusing the *Sacred Robe* of *Magistracy*, for a *Cloak* of *Maliciousness*, *Avarice*, or *both*; and were this reasonable distinction effectually prosecuted, and their little factious *Properties* excluded from voting the *Sword* into such unworthy Hands, it must fall in course to some honest Man's Lot, who will be the *Minister of God* for good, and bear it not in vain. 'Tis likewise to be hop'd, this may tend by degrees to the better *Information* of the deluded People, make them reflect upon the *Inconsistency* of their *Principles*, and *Unwarrantableness* of *Schism*, how naturally they tend to a *licentious Propbanation* of all things *Sacred* and *Civil*, whilst Men of corrupt Minds can so easily prostitute the most *solemn Obligations* of *Religion*, and *Conscience*, to two such servile respects as *Interest* and *Humour*. Neither are we to despair, but it may work a *Reformation* in the Persons themselves; for generally when Men get nothing by acting the *Hypocrite*, they care no longer to wear the *Vizard*, chuse rather to appear as they really are, and fall at last to desire a right *Information* of Things, since *Error* and *Deceit* has fail'd in those *Advantages*, which were formerly the main *Support* of their *Unrighteous Mammon*. But whatever the Event be as to them, I am confident you are satisfied no *Government* can be safe in such *slippery hands*; for they that can be *any thing*, will be *every thing*, and are good for *nothing*; having betray'd their own *Consciences*, is it possible they should demur serving others in the like kind?

4thly, But to come to that which is most considerable in this case, indeed the main *Support* of every *Government*: By this means all *Publick Deliberations*, and *Resolves*, will be carried on in a smooth and even, steady, uniform Course, free from *Faction* *Oppositions*, with the many other by-respects of *Intriguing Interests*: This, I say, in a

measure, at least, would abate the several *Fends*, ay, and reasonable *Expences* too, at the *Election* of our *National Representatives*, and secure their *Debates*, when *Assembled*, from frequent *Embarrassments*, according to the *French Term*, the *Obstructions* and *Delays*, which such as cannot obtain their own private, *pettish Humours*, are prone to interpose in the most weighty *Transactions*, tho' never so prejudicial to the *Common Good*. In like manner all other sinister *Practices*, *Plots*, and *Brangles*, whether in *Towns Corporate*, *City*, or *Country*, would be reduc'd to something of *Temper*, *Noise* and *Nonsense* being once excluded, such Men in course must come in place, as would speak to the purpose, and act upon a *Principle*. And if any one objects this would be too great an *Invasion* upon their *Liberties*, I shall only reply, as at first, 'tis no more than what their admired Neighbours the *Hollanders*, did upon their own accord, to prevent the dangerous Consequences of their many *Popular Heats*, and *Tumultuous Assemblies*, when they gave way that all their *Right* thereto should be *devolv'd* upon a few sober understanding Men, who knew better how to act for the *Common Welfare* than themselves: But whether many, or few (for this propounds only the exclusion of some, no alteration in the whole *Constitution*, as well knowing neither *Oligarchy*, nor *Polygarchy* will do with us, however there be zealous Pretenders to both) so they be all of one Piece, Business will go on much the smoother, and be sooner brought to a Conclusion: And therefore give me leave to transferr St. Paul's Comparison, from the *Church* to the *Body Politick*, it being equally dangerous to them both, as in the *Natural*: If the *Head* be a *Monarch*, and the *Feet* *Commonwealths-men*; the *Eye* of the *Presbyterian*, and the *Ear* of the *Congregational Persuasions*, with the *Devil* and all of little *Margotty Sektaries* grumbling in the *Belly*, what care can be taken of the whole? What will become of it in the end? Amongst many pretty *Crotchets*, which in the *Low Countries* hang out for *Sigs*, there is one at *Harlem*, call'd the *Misforstand*, that is, a *Barrel of Gun* between two *Dray-men*, turn'd *Back to Back*, and so pulling two contrary ways. I have known a *Nation* standing in this unhappy Posture for nigh these Sixty Years together, with these aggravating Circumstances, that as there have been many more than two *Pullers*, so they pull'd more than Twenty several ways, that the poor *Vessel* hath been able to hold out thus long is much; yet that it should hold out much longer, will be more to admiration.

That the *Church*, and *Monarchy*, will be hereby very much secured, cannot be disputed; for, as we see, how fatal it is, when a *Power* differs in the Persuasion from the *Establish'd Religion*,

so one of that Perswasion is as little secure, as his *Ministers*, with
their inferior *Officers*, and *Dependants*, are of different *Sentiments*,
and *Inclinations*; and that not only as to *Divine* Matters, but the
very *Nature* and *Original* of all *Humane Constitutions*, and *Crest Soci-
ties*: And whoever wears the *Crown of England*, upon any other
than the *Old Church of England* Principle, will neither find that sit
easie, nor himself long safe; for notwithstanding the many *Protesta-
tions*, and *Acknowledgments*, which either *Flattery*, or *Interest*, may for
some time, oblige them unto, there is not One in Ten of the seve-
ral *Factions*, could they have their own Wills, would endure a Mo-
narchy, any more than the *Kingdom of Heaven* a *Commonwealth*. That
such a Book as *Ludlow's Memoirs* should come abroad at this time of
day, is somewhat odd, and argues his *Admirers* Men of no little *As-
surance*; yet really however it may prevail upon the infatuated *Se-
daries*, the many *Plots* and *Counter-Plots* there discover'd, their im-
placable *Enmities* one against another, perfidious *Hypocrisies*, and
clandestine Underminings, with a continued Irresolution as to any thing
of *Accord* and *Settlement*, must convince every Man of Sence, that
(like their *Infarnal Abettor*) their sole *Talent* lay in doing *Mischief*,
opposing, and pulling down; which, having effected, they could no
more agree what should succeed, than the *Mob of Capua*, when they
had brought things into the same condition. Read over his whole
Second Volume with a serious Attention; and then tell me, whether
Hell it self can be represented in greater Confusion, than he doth
there the Conduct of *Affairs*, the *Contrasts*, and *Counterminings* of
the several *Usurping Powers*, till things being brought to the Extre-
mity of *Distraction*, with an Expence of *Blood* and *Treasure*, never be-
fore parallell'd, they were forc'd, like the *Evil Spirit* in the *Gospel*, to
return from whence they set out, and cease troubling the World,
till their former *Freaks*, and its own *Follies* should be quite forgot;
yet these were our *Commonwealth-Patriots*, the *Keepers* of our *Libe-
ties*, and what not: From whom, and all such, God keep this Poor
Nation for evermore.

6thly, Were I not sure, you would expect something in reference
to the *Church of England*, I had been wholly silent as to that Point,
being of a Perswasion somewhat more sanguine, than most of her *Sons*
Clergy as well as *Lay*, viz. that what a wise *Observer* said of the
whole Nation in general, is more applicable here, *None can destroy
her but her self*. There is, as I hinted just now, so strict and mutual
a dependance between the *Crown* and *Myre*, that they must both
stand and fall together: And, give me leave farther to add, we must
never expect a settled *State*, or continued *Peace*, without keeping
them

...some may be order, and Necessities,
...themselves made, to bring in their
...the true, whenever a Nation is so unhappy
...it self, fall into Parties, and Factions, upon
...account, either Ecclesiastical, or Civil; as some Church-men will
...be made Properties therein, so the Church must
...in such Distractions, and that to a
...degree; yet still if the main Body keeps steady to its self,
...the same Rule, and minds the same Thing, such a reserve of
...will constantly attend her, as tho' persecuted,
...not destroy'd; and it very
...does not come out of that Evil.
...her Arms in a careless Despair, or
...with Faction and Schism, and as the Ju-
...pulls down her old Walls; her Confessions
...of Discipline (like the foolish Trojans) to let in
...full of those very Enemies, which have us'd all
...in vain, to effect her ruine. This would
...and as the same good Man farther declares,
...by which it was ever
...that the People should conform to the Law of the
...the Church should conform to the Humours of the Peo-
...to such as be con-
...Errors behind them; we ought to set our
...and need not pull down our Walls; but if they bring their
...and divided Judgments along with them, to admit
...but leaves them free to all other
...or rather fortifies and animates them to pursue their
...the greater Violence. God, to be sure, receives none
...and Amendment; and why his Church should do
...if they will not be the same with us,
...by themselves, and not come among us, their Room
...And therefore I have always sus-
...or Affection, in those Persons,
...without any re-
...the Gospel, as likewise the reason of the
...and courting too, those Wolves,
...in Sheep's Cloathing; or can otherwise alledge
...which the Devil is never without, nor fails
...on his behalf; whereas Matter of Fact
...the contrary, the continued Experience of
...most sadly assur'd us, that they could never
be

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more at
Q. 26.
p. 26.

So oblig'd by any *Kindest*, nor satisfy'd
And now, Sir, without doubt you must be *troubled*, and
find the Trouble I was *complemented* into, receiv'd upon your *Gift*,
receiving a *Volume* instead of a Letter.

Yet, be assur'd, 'twas with some difficulty it ended here; for
having once set my Thoughts *afloat*, the *Current* ran so strong, I
could not *stem* its Force so as to stop at pleasure: And by this you
may see confirm'd what I have hitherto entertain'd you withal;
for if a single Person cannot take his *Liberty*, in so little an *Affair*
too, without somewhat of Inconvenience and Trouble, how much
worse must it prove in a whole *Body*, a *Community of People*, who
are so easily hurried on, without knowing what they do, or from
whom they act, till all end in *Mischief* and *Confusion*: And therefore
give me leave to declare, that the *Restraints* propounded in the
Premises, whatever satisfaction they may give you, and some few of
your *Temper*, will be no ways acceptable to that extravagant *Li-*
centiousness, both *Corporal* and *Spiritual*, *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*,
which hath so long had the Ascendant amongst us, and bears too
nigh Affinity to that Acknowledgment in *Livy*: *Nec Morbum*
ferre possumus, nec Remedium. God, in his due time, make us sen-
sible both of the *Folly* and *Danger*, which such Courses tend unto:
In the mean while, and ever, continue to defend our *Church* from
all her *Enemies*, *within*, as well as *without*, the daily *Pray-*
er of,

S I R,

Tours, &c.

— M — n.

F I N I S.